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10 October 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence

VIA: *for* Douglas MacEachin *D.B.V.*  
Director, Office of Soviet Analysis

FROM:   
Chief, Policy Analysis Division  
Office of Soviet Analysis

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SUBJECT: Request for Approval of Oral Presentation

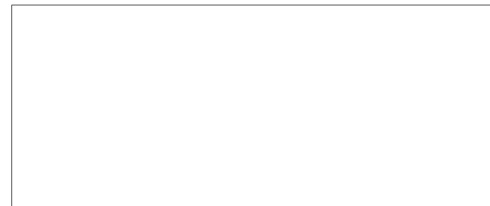
1. I have been asked by  of the  
Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in  
Washington, D.C. to kick off a seminar discussion on 24 October  
about the current Soviet view of East-West relations. The  
seminar, which would consist of students and faculty from the  
school, is an informal, off-the-record part of a Soviet policy  
course taught by

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2. Request approval to present remarks along the lines of  
the attached outline, the use of which was approved in June for a  
similar informal presentation I made at the Brookings  
Institution. I will of course confine my remarks to unclassified  
material. I am an overt Agency officer and will be identified as  
a CIA employee, and the seminar will be told my remarks do not  
represent official Agency of US Government views.

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Attachment: a/s



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I have reviewed the attached request and with the understanding that the presentation will be unclassified, approve it.

STAT

[Redacted Signature]

Director of Soviet Analysis

10/10/84  
Date

STAT

[Redacted Signature]

Deputy Director for Intelligence

15 OCT 1984

Date

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Soviet View of East-West Relations Five Years After SALT II

I. Key Soviet Perspectives

- A. Correlation of forces
  - 1. From optimism toward pessimism
  - 2. From intercontinental to medium range focus
  - 3. Trends: 1979 vs 1984
- B. Main Adversary - United States
  - 1. Harshness toward incumbent President, '80 and '84
  - 2. State of relationship: from "unsatisfactory" to something worse
  - 3. Defense policies--long-term or transitory?
  - 4. Is downturn in relations cyclical or linear?
- C. European Battleground
  - 1. East Europe intrudes - Poland
  - 2. West Europe stiffens - internal as well as NATO changes pose challenge

II. Domestic Political Dimension

- A. Brezhnev era stability in 1979
  - 1. Long-time team of seniors in place
  - 2. Importance of foreign policy to them
- B. Brezhnev's decline coincides with downturn in East-West relations -- 1980 - 1982
  - 1. Kosygin and Suslov depart
  - 2. Andropov and Chernenko arrive
- C. Andropov interlude -- 1982 - 1984
  - 1. Unsettling drive against corruption
  - 2. INF and US policies dominate Andropov's E-W policy
- D. Chernenko succeeds -- 1984
  - 1. Relations with military
  - 2. Place of foreign policy on his agenda?
  - 3. Gromyko and Ustinov more powerful?
  - 4. Fathers and Sons?

III. Soviet Behavior

- A. Detente remains policy
  - 1. Is it as central? Has it paid off?
  - 2. Is it only for Europe?
  - 3. Is anyone's political career dependent on it?
  - 4. What expectations for it?

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- B. Negotiations
  - 1. Slowness in acting--put off rather than face?
  - 2. Leave the table re bilateral talks with US
  - 3. Threats carried out
- C. Confidence
  - 1. Can international isolation of USSR be avoided?
  - 2. Is international situation "dangerous" to USSR?
- D. Outlook
  - 1. No initiatives in 1984
  - 2. Can foreign affairs be put on back burner?
  - 3. Lowered expectations
  - 4. Shift to "European" issues (CDE, MBFR)?
  - 5. Is there a Soviet strategy for E-W relations?

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